NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

THE MOTIVE POWER OF THE CIRCULATION OF THE BLOOD.

In the Intelligencer of November 12 I see an article on the above subject by Dr. ELY, purporting to be a criticism of Mrs. WILLARD's theory, defended by Dr. CART-WRIGHT. Now, since the combatants have apparently shivered their lances, I have concluded, with your permission, to prove by well-authenticated facts that neither of the theories advocated by the doctors can possibly be true; and that, therefore, we must look for the primary motive power of the circulation to the only primary motive powers of nature, namely, attraction and repulsion, which are the essential characteristics only of electricity and of that modification of electrical action termed magnetism. As, however, a complete investigation and defence of this theory probably will, ere long, appear in book form of some five or six hundred octavo pages, (more than a third of which remains to be written this winter or must lie over to another.) I must decline replying to any superficial criticism for want of time. Besides, in the volume referred to, an effort will be made to prove, from a vast number of universally admitted facts and observations, experimentally determined by the most eminent votaries of science of the present age, that all natural motion and all changes, physical, chemical, crystalline, organic, and vital, are primarily effects of electrical action. Hence, a little reflection will convince the reader that a single link of the chain of universal causation disconnected from all the rest must much weaken the conclusion arrived at in

In vegetables, and particularly in the gigantic forest trees of some countries, there is a much more magnificent circulation of liquids going on than in the body of any person or animal, and yet there is neither heart nor any mechanical engine in them to propel the sap to the beight of from one to three hundred feet. But, as there can be no effect without a cause, so there must also be a cause (the same as in animals and man) of the circulation in vegetables; for

"The universal cause Acts not by partial but by general laws;" its effects being modified and diversified by the circum. stances under which it operates.

Popular Theories of the Cause of the Circulation. Dr. HARVEY, the discoverer of the circulation, attribut. ed the motion of the blood exclusively to the force exerted by the muscular contraction of the heart; and Borelli one of the great defenders of the Harvian theory, taking into account the friction and retardation consequent on the tortuosity, &c. of the blood vessels, calculated the force necessary to circulate the blood in man to be ninety. tons. Hales and Poiseuille resorted to direct experiments on living animals, and agree as to the force propelling the blood within two or three ounces; there being obviously a small difference between different persons or animals and in the same person or animal at different times. The latter makes the pressure with which the blood is driven into the aorta, at the moment of the heart's contraction, equivalent to the pressure of five and onefourth pounds troy weight, and in the radial artery 137 grains. This is the theory advocated by Dr. Ely.

Dr. CARPENTER, (Human Physiology,) after showing most conclusively that the blood circulates in human beings after the muscular tissue of the heart has been almost entirely destroyed by disease without any such disturbance of the circulation as would be expected, and in the fœtus entirely destitute of a heart, &c., invokes the aid of the contraction of the voluntary muscles, the contractility of the blood-vessels, the pressure of the atmosphere, and, above all, the chemical action which takes place in the capillaries preparatory to the process of nutrition to eke out the chain of causation and repair the links he had just destroyed. It should here be remembered that the heart of the mother cannot produce the least direct muscular or mechanical effect upon the circulation of the fœtus; for the blood of the former does not enter the blood-vessels of the latter, each having its own appropriate circulation. The blood of the foctus is carried by its vessels to the feetal portion of the placenta and returns to it through the umbilical veins; while the blood of the mother only enters the maternal portion of the placenta and then returns; and these two portions of the placenta are separated by a double layer of cells (vesicles) through which the vivifying agent is transferred from the mother to her offspring. Moreover, in the embryo there is a cir. culation before the heart is developed, and the blood is formed in and passes from the vascular area to every part of the embryo, instead of from the region of the heart.

Liebig's theory is expressed so concisely (in his Animal Chemistry) that it can best be stated in his own words-

"By expansion of the heart, an organ in which two systems of tubes meet, which are ramified in a most minute network of vessels through all parts of the body, there is produced a vacuum, the immediate effect of which | with a force, in some cases, equivalent to the pressure of is, that all fluids which can penetrate into these vessels are urged with great force towards one side of the heart by the external pressure of the atmosphere. This motion is powerfully assisted by the contraction of the heart, alternating with its expansion, and caused by a force independent of the atmospheric pressure. In fact the heart is a forcing pump, which sends arterial blood into all parts of the body; and also a suction pump, by means of which all fluids of whatever kind, as soon as they enter the absorbent vessels which communicate with the veins, are drawn towards the heart."

This theory is effectually refuted by a single physica, fact, ascertained by direct experiments made by Dr. An NOTT. But there is no such thing as a suction pump, either in nature or art, as any person may convince himperfectly flexible tube, such as a piece of a blood-vessel, in several articles. riment, and thus prevents the liquid entering.

sis. It is a fundamental law of hydrodynamics that liquids, when confined by solids, press with the same force in all directions, and this pressure is proportional to the perpendicular height at which the column of the liquid stands. Hence, if the liquid is in motion, and other causes, (and when the tortuosity of the blood-ves- against each. As the heart is still considered the sole or sels, &c. is considered, it is manifest that the resistance tain the greatest bursting force at the point where the propelling force is applied. Consequently, if the Profeesor's theory be true, the capillaries must sustain a

as this force is exerted alike in all directions, the capillaries must resist a greater force tending to burst them than any of the arteries or veins, and the coats of the former should therefore, agreeably with the law of adaptation, be stronger than those of either of the latter, otherwise we might look for the most dangerous homorrhages from wounds in which capillaries only are divided. Again, if the Professor's theory were true, the velocity of the blood would be greatest in the capillaries, and diminish in proportion to the increase of the diameter of the blood-vessels, because the resistance would obviously diminish the velocity of the current in proportion to the distance from the point where the propelling force is applied; but this is the reverse of the fact taught by observation. But where, admitting the Professor's theory, is the beauty of the law of adaptation? The fact is the arteries and veins have each three coats, and when they terminate in capillaries the two exterior (the two strongest) coats are laid aside, and the walls of the capillaries consist only of an extension of the interior (the weakest) coat of the arteries. On the Professor's theory this is the reverse of adaptation. When the fact that the capillaries perform the function termed nutrition, depositing materials to renovate the constant waste consequent on the disintegration of the solids to supply materials for the production of muscular, organic, and mental force, (which must be deposited through their coats, for they are continuous, having no open mouths,) is considered, the reason why their coats are so thin is at once apparent; but all these considerations protest emphatically against the Professor's theory. The fact is it is perfectly demonstrable that the propelling force of the blood is not localized; and it will appear in the sequel that it is coextensive with the circulation itself, acting throughout the circulatory system, sanguineous, lymphatic, chylopofetic, seminal, &c. Dr. MACKALL, of Georgetown, D. C., has recently pub-

lished critical notes on Carpenter's Human Physiology, which contain a theory of the circulation based upon the supposition that the heart and arteries enlarge their diameters by "the active elongation" of the muscular fibres of these organs every time a renewed flood of blood enters them: and that the blood enters them (is driven into them by atmospheric pressure, I suppose, for nothing else could do it) to prevent a vacuum, and then propelled forward by "the passive contraction" of the muscular fibres of those organs. The fact determined by Dr. Ar-NOTT, already adduced to invalidate Baron LIEBIG's theory, militates with equal force against this. The Doctor's theory regarding muscular contraction in general, on which his theory of the circulation is based, is, that the arm, for instance, is bent by "the active elongation" of those muscles, termed extensors by anatomists, which lie on the outside of the arm, while those muscles on the inside of the arm, termed flexors, relax passively, and have no active agency in bending the arm, but only in straightening it, and vice versa. According to this theory the effect produced by muscular action is a consequence of their elongation, not of their contraction, as stated by all other physiologists. Now, every person can easily convince himself of the fallacy of this theory by taking hold of a fixed object, and with his arm semi-flexed draw himself actively towards the object, while he braces his foot against it. On then examining the state of the muscles above the elbow with the other hand, while his muscles are in this active state, he will find the flexors rigid and tense, and their thickness increased, while the extensors are, at the same time, relaxed and soft, showing that these are in a state of inactivity while those are ac-

ine. Now, this single fact positively nullifies the Doctor's theory, unless he can prove that relaxation produces action, and that action consists in the absence of tension; in other words, that effects are produced by passivity, and the absence of effects by activity, which is absurd. When a muscle is irritated by passing a current of electricity through it or otherwise it contracts, but never elongates, which proves conclusively that its active state consists in contraction, not in elongation : that is, the Doctor's theory contravenes facts witnessed daily by almost every observing person. Again, the muscles are much more flexible when relaxed than any rope; and yet, if a rope be stretched horizontally between two heavy bodies and then wetted, (moistened,) it will shrink and draw those bodies fixed to its ends towards each other, but can never push them apart again when it dries and elongates. The Doctor's evidence derived from the tongue of the chamelion is entirely fallacious. The longitudinal muscles in the tongue serve no other purpose than that of directing and retracting it; while the circular fibres (though indistinct and delicate) by contracting diminish its diameter, and consequently clongate it proportionally. The same phenomena may be earth-worm and of the leech. It appears strange that in his zeal to promulgate a favorite theory a man of the after this bill passes, and not one of them can vote. By Doctor's great knowledge should lose sight of the physical inability of a body so flexible as the muscles are, and vote, and the next day abandon the Territory forever confined too only by an evelope extensible as the skin, for, mark you, they are to declare their intention to beand contend that a muscle actually pushes asunder two bodies attached to its opposite extremities, and that five or six hundred pounds. But such is often the case on their march out of the country, and hear Pat or Hans with men of the greatest scientific attainments when they get on a hobby.

The only additional theory that claims attention is that first promulgated by Mrs. Willard, and since defended had no evidence of that; and, if I had, I would not be so by Dr. Cartweight, namely: "That respiration, operating by animal heat, produces an expansive power at the lungs, and thus becomes the principal efficient cause of the blood's circulation;" "that atmospheric air admitted into the lungs is the blood-moving power."

This theory, though plausible because a direct inference from observed facts, is disproved by many other facts. Air alone possesses no motive power whatever; self by sealing the pipe of a syringe airtight into the cannot move itself, much less can it communicate motion mouth of a bottle perfectly full of water and then trying to other bodies, unless first put in motion by extrinsic to pump the water perpendicularly upwards and failing agency. Physiologists have lost sight entirely of the vote will be recorded against you; and you will be told to do so. The effect attributed to suction is produced fact that the atmosphere contains at all times a consithus: When the air is exhausted from any vessel, one end of which is immersed in a liquid, the atmospheric presof which is immersed in a liquid, the atmospheric presonly primary motive powers of nature—attraction and vision, refused to do it by so many yeas to so many nays, thus: When the air is exhausted from any vessel, one end | derable quantity of free electricity, to which alone the sure is removed from that part of the surface of the liquid repulsion-belong; and that more is set free when the thereby declaring to all the world that foreigners may which is within the wails of the vessel, and if no air can oxygen and nitrogen come to be separated in the lungs, enter into the vessel above the liquid the pressure of the the former gas entering the blood, while the latter is exatmosphere upon the surface of the liquid outside of it pired with the carbonic acid formed in the arteries by the drives this liquid into the vessel to the height of from | combination of the oxygen with the carbon and hydrethirty-two to thirty-four feet, according to the intensity gen of the food. The air, therefore, is not the motor of the atmospheric pressure indicated by the barometer, agent of the blood, but only the vehicle of that agent. Now, Dr. Arnott has proved experimentally that when a But this is anticipating what will hereafter be elucidated

is fastened with one end to a pump, the other end dipping The fact mentioned by Dr. ELY that by the featus in ready said our own citizens, if they are soldiers, will be into any liquid, no liquid will rise into the flexible tube utero "there neither is nor can be any respiration" is denied the right to participate in the proceedings in these when the piston of the pump is drawn up; for the atmo- alone sufficient to ignore Mrs. Williams's theory; but sphere presses the sides of the tube together, as any well- there are others. There are cases on record of human informed physicist might have foretold without an expe- monstrosities in which the pulmonary arteries were perfeetly impervious, the blood having passed through the have no interest in your country, may not have read its Prof. Draper, of New York, published a new theory ductus venosus arteriosus finto the aorta, and by it conof the circulation of blood and sap in a work on the Or- veyed to every part of the body except the lungs, which ganization of Plants a few years since. The Professor did not receive a drop of blood during the whole period locates the motive power, which he thinks is produced of uterine gestation; and yet the foetal circulation must just as the records of our ancesters are brought up now; by chemical action there, in the capillaries, and says have been rigorous and complete, for after birth, which and our descendants will be told that because we did this this chemical power "drives the blood with an inexpres- took place at the regular time, the children were found sible force to the heart." Now, there is in every depart- perfectly formed and developed in every respect except ment of nature, when rightly understood, so exact an the pulmonary arteries. Fishes have no lungs, and a adaptation of means to ends that human wisdom has number of the inferior species of animated beings have and if others fail to do theirs, let each member be renever been able to detect the least defect or incongruity neither gills nor lungs; and yet all these have a circulain any of the Creator's works. Let us see how this ob- tion no less perfect in their sphere than that of man. servation tallies with the structure of the circulatory The sponge, for instance, which stands lowest in the scale will now vote to strike out this provision, though they systems of man and animals on the Professor's hypothe- of animal creation, absorbs water by numerous small sustained it before, with the view of embarrassing the the water in comparatively powerful streams from larger am not in their company or confidence; I kave had no

I have thus passed in review all the theories of the circulation that have come under my notice, and offered V at least the principal agent in propelling the blood, the to the passage of the blood must be very great, as the objections against this theory have been reserved for a

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pressure equivalent to the whole force that circulates the blood and overcomes the resistance to its passage; and,

DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

THE NEBRASKA QUESTION.

IN THE SENATE, MAY 25, 1854. The Senate having under consideration the House bill o organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and the pending question being on the amendment of Mr. Pearce to the fifth section, to strike out the words—

"And those who shall have declared on oath their intention to become such, and shall have taken an eath to support the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of

this act, -so that the proviso shall read :

" Provided, That the right of suffrage and of holding office hall be exercised only by citizens of the United States. Mr. BROWN, of Mississippi, said: I have no intention, The fifth section of the bill provides:

"That every free white male inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years, who shall be an actual resident of said Terri-tory, and shall possess the qualifications hereinafter prescribed, shall be entitled to vote at the first election, and shall be eligible to any office within the said Territory, but the qualifications of voters and of holding office at all subsequent elections shall be such as shall be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly: Provided, That the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised only by citizens of the Unital State of the Unita

Now comes the part proposed to be stricken out:

"And those who shall have declared on oath their intention become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the enstitution of the United States and the provisions of this et: And provided further, That no officer, soddier, seaman, or marine, or other person in the army or navy of the United States, or attached to troops in the service of the United States, shall be allowed to vote or hold office is said Territory y reason of being on service therein."

If the section passes as it stands, it is, beyond all question, that foreigners in the Territory, and not being in the service of the United States, may vote, no difference what may have been their character abroad, or what their inducement to come here. However disgreditable to the country from which they came, they have nothing to do but to make a bare declaration of their intention to become a citizen and take an oath to support the Constitution to entitle them to vote; while American citizens, are above reproach, if they are in the military service of their country in these Territories, will, by the same act, be denied the right to vote. I ask Senators to pause be-fore they legislate to give foreigners rights which are deand who are placed upon your frontiers to defend your women and children from the tomahawk of the savage, will be denied the elective franchise, while the thousands and tens of thousands who are pouring apon our shores from every part of God's habitable globe will be entitled red privilege. Why, sir, if Santa Anna should be expelled from Mexico to-morrow, as he may be, and should take up his residence in one of tiese Territories, he may vote the day after he gets there if this bill passes; and Winfield Scott, whose name is emblizoned on every page of his country's history, and whose impress is on every battle-field from the St. Lawrence to the city of Mexico, if he was there stationed at the order of the President, would not be allowed the same privilege. I ask nonorable Senators if it is not so, that by the proposed legislation we are about to say to the General-in-chief of the American army, you shall not vote in a Territory conquered by your arms; and to the teserter from the enemy's camp, you may vote! Shall we do this? Shall we say to the venerable soldier who has served his country for forty years, who has fought more battles, and fought them better, than any living man, shall we say to Winfield Scott, who, whatever may be lis faults as a politician, deserves his country's gratitule, you shall not vote in Kansas or Nebraska; and then shall we say to the outcasts of the Old World, to the wanderers and vagabonds, to the prison-birds and spawn of infamy, you may vote! I hope not. Let no mar charge that I am stile to foreigners. We invite them to our shores, and I would receive them kindly and treat them generously; t when I am asked to stand up in the American Senate and give to foreigners the right of suffrage, and in the same breath deny it to American citizens, I say plainly, I cannot do it.

I have heard before of putting foreigners on an equal footing with Americans, but this is the first time when I have been called upon to give them an advantage. And what is the reason assigned? Look at the bill. No officer or soldier of the army shall be allowed to vote in the Territory by reason of his being on service there. It is his country's arms, that he encounter reason of being on service in the Territory they are excome citizens of the United States, not of Neoraska. Just think of Scott or Wool, at the head of a thousand Americans, guarding a thousand Irish or Dutch against Indian assaults while they vote, and then guarding them the bill and upon the amendment. blessing this land of liberty where foreigners vote and Americans look on in silence

I am told, sir, by way of alarm on this subject, that if the bill is sent back to the House it will be lost. I have alarmed as to do that which my judgment does not sanction. I am here as an American Senator, to vote upon my responsibility; and I must do it with the aid of such lights as are before me. Mr. President, we are to-day making up a record which will be looked to by coming generations. What do we every day? Why, sir, we go back to the records of the past and inquire what those have done who went before us? Do we always examine into the reasons which influenced the votes? No, sir. Senators get up and say on a question which they claim as a precedent so many voted in the affirmative and so many in the negative. When the present passes away this one thousand eight hundrek and fifty-four, the American vote on a bare declaration of intention to become citizens of the United States and an oath to support the Constitution, while a citizen soldier may not, by reason of his being in his country's service, do the same thing. This is the precedent you are making to-day. The Chinese have a proverb that curses, like chickens, come home to roost. I pray that this precedent may not come home to us in

time with the double power of a political curse. Sir, the interests, the rights, the honor of my constiments are to be put at hazard on this vote. I have al-Territories in any manner, shape, or form. If we have a thousand American citizens there, and they happen to be soldiers, they are to stand off and see their rights and interests committed to foreigners. These foreigners may Constitution, and may be wholly incapable of feeling any attachment for our institutions. I call upon Senators to reflect before they proceed further in this business. I tell you this record will be brought up in future time, to-day they may do it in all time to come. I am not unbalanced by this appeal to our fears. The House of Representatives may not do its duty, but that does not prove that we must fail to do ours. I intend to do my duty, sponsible to his conscience, to his constituents, and to

Again, I have been told that a certain class of Senators pores, and, after extracting its nutriment from it, ejects | bill. I do not know what these gentlemen mean to de; I consultation with them; but they will show that on this or on a former occasion they failed of acting from conscientious convictions if they give the vote suggested. When the motion was formerly made by the Senator from there is any resistance to its passage from friction or a few objections, while a score fatal to it might be urged other causes. (and when the tortuosity of the blood yes against each. As the heart is still considered the sole or bill, their motives will be subjected to severe criticism.
I do not believe they will; I know nothing about it; but, Professor's words imply,) which must be overcome by a second communication, after which my own theory will charge my duty as an American Senator. I want these abolition gentlemen to understand distinctly that I am whatever they may do, I mean, as I said before, to disnot to be chased about from one side of the bill to the I vote for a proposition and they against it, when they come in favor of it I am not bound to be against it; there

convictions of what is right I said in the beginning that I had no speech to make on this subject, and I have none; but I cannot reconcile it to my sense of right to vote for a proposition which gives to a foreigner, I care not who he may be or under what circumstances he may come to our shores, the right to vote in these Territories, and then deny the same right to any American citizen who may happen to be in the Territory in the service of the country as a soldier or officer in the army. I will not, I cannot do that. I do not out in such bold relief that he who desires to see cannot the standing out in such bold relief that he who desires to see cannot a visit the service of the service of the country as a soldier or officer in the army. I will not, I cannot do that. I do not out in such bold relief that he who desires to see cannot a visit the service of the service rate from the bill, and which seemed to have escaped the more practised acuteness and superior ability of the Senator from Tennessee.

Now, Mr. President, when I look at this bill for the purpose of eviscerating its principles, I find them standing out in such bold relief that he who desires to see cannot the service of the country as a soldier or officer in the service and superior ability of the Senator from Tennessee.

bill. Ever since I came into Congress I have been the firm and steadfast opponent of this Missouri restriction. Nay, sir, ever since I raised my voice as a politician, from my earliest service as a public man, I have warred against the measure as a great and monstrous outrage upon the Constitution of the United States and upon the rights and honor of the Southern people. I am propared to make many and very great sacrifices to get clear of this odious restriction, to vote for many things of which I blend together, and no further can they blend. It is an Mr. BROWN, of Mississippi, said: I have no intention, of course, to reply to the Senator from Ohio. His speech was one of that kind to which I should not care to reply under any circumstances, and especially under the circumstances which present themselves to us now. But, intending to vote for the amendment of the Senator from Maryland, I wish to assign very briefly the reasons why.

Mr. BROWN, of Mississippi, said: I have no intention, of course, to reply to the Senator from Ohio. His speech odious restriction, to vote for many things of which I cannot approve by way of getting clear of it; but I am here asked to retain this alien provision; and the vote is to be taken on this proposition separately and distinctly. It stands by itself, and is to be valid to the exclusion of every thing else. Now, our votes are to of adamant. When gentlemen from the South approach of adamant. When gentlemen from the South approach of adamant. When gentlemen from the South approach of adamant. I shall do so, advertising the Senate, however, that I have no speech to make on this bill. stand in all after time as an indication of our sentiments of adamant. When gentlemen from the South approach to make on this bill. tinctly. Is it right in itself and by itself? That is the question; and honorable Senators will see at once that it s a very important question.

I know very well that frequently a bill like this, covering, as this does, thirty-seven pages of printed matter, and making in one of our daily newspapers some seven or eight columns, may pass without every member being able to scrutinize and examine every provision in it; but when a matter of this sort is brought up in bold relief before you, with a clear and distinct proposition to strike out a particular section, and the mind of every Senator is drawn distinctly to the language of it, it must be some great, powerful, overruling influence which would justify any Senator in refusing to give his vote to strike it out, if, in his heart, he thinks it wrong. I have seen no such any Senator in refusing to give his vote to surke to such if, in his heart, he thinks it wrong. I have seen no such influence. I apprehend that, if the bill goes back to the influence. I apprehend that, if the bill goes back to the against them; take protective tariffs, advocate or oppose against them; take protective tariffs, advocate or oppose agree to our amendment. If they disagree to it, a com-mittee of conference is the necessary consequence; and ports them as a traitor to the best interests of his country. mittee of conference is the necessary consequence; and if, in the end, we must yield sooner than lose the bill, if, in the end, we must yield sooner than lose the bill, that will be another proposition. Without a single member of the House being committed on this question in any shape or form, so far as the voting shows, am I to be told the bill to my warmest support at all times and upon all that I must swallow this bitter pill, gulp it down and not say a word against it, for fear of endangering the success Again, of the bill? I feel none of that sort of apprehension; for you have the balance of this year before you in the Senate. shall be in my grave.

It is said the bill will certainly be lost if it goes back to the House. I do not believe it. There is not one par- power which it is the duty of this Government to exercise, ticle of evidence to sustain it. Its friends are in a ma- and which it has exercised in good faith. When you jority there; and if they are not the bill ought not to have gone through these two enumerated grants of power, pass. If the bill were ten thousand times better than it you have gone through all that the Constitution will give is I would not have it become a law against the will of a

the Senate longer, vote for the amendment, but with no purpose to destroy the bill. I have given as much evidence as most Senators that I am its friend. Things have been put into it which are objectionable to me. I have never denied, every one knows, that the proviso author of the bill was not exactly to my notion. I took it all, however, and went for the bill. asked, by a separate and distinct vote, to sanction the kind of legislation embodied in this particular section now proposed to be stricken out, I must have stronger reasons than any I have yet heard, or I will refuse to do it. To vote for this section by itself is one thing; to vote for it along with the repeal of the Missouri restriction is another and very different thing.

Mr. BENJAMIN. The amendment now before the Senate, offered by the Senator from Maryland, commends itself to my deliberate judgment. I voted for it before; I shall vote against it now. Having this intention, and feeling the necessity of making some explanation of the apparent inconsistency of my votes, I desire to say but a very few words to the Senate.

Senators will bear me witness that when this bill was first brought before the Senate I remained a very attentive listener to the debates. I took no part in the discussion myself. If I had ever entertained a desire to do so the signal ability with which the bill was discussed, the deep historical research evinced by those who spoke both for and against it, and the massive force of argument by sufficient for his exclusion from the polls that he bears which sound constitutional principles were vindicated by camp and the perils of the battle-field; but a foreigner have made me shrink from entering into such an arena the Senator from Ohio; then alone shall we be able to what of him? He may spurn your arms, insult your with my feeble lance. But, sir, my silence has been mis-flag, spit upon your laws, and then say he means to be. construed in certain quarters: and although I have not gate it proportionally. The same phenomena may be come a citizen and swear to support your Constitution, even the poor excuse of necessity for defining my position and you let him vote. A thousand soldiers, with Scott or to induce me to speak at this moment, inasmuch as upon earth-worm and of the leech. It appears strange that Wool at their head, may be ordered to Nebraska the day the measure which is involved in the bill I feel certain that my vote will be the true exponent of the sentiments of my constituency almost to a man, yet, as I have the misfortune to differ in that vote from the only delegate from my State in the other branch of Congress who be longs to the political party to which I have always adhered with unfaltering constancy, I feel it due to myself and the people of my State to declare here the grounds,

Mr. President, what is the present position of the ques-tion before the Senate? We are all wandering from it, it seems to me, except the Senator who has just addressed the Senate, (Mr. Brown.) A bill for the organization of these Territories passed the Senate and went to the House. It went there with an amendment, which has been called the Clayton amendment, and which restricted the right of suffrage to persons who were citizens of the United States, as well as residents of the Territories. That bill, sir, has not been acted upon by the House. The bill now before us comes here as an original bill from the House; and as such, if amended by us, goes back to that body, and is subject to its entire control. The proposi-tion now pending is to engraft upon that bill the same amendment which was before placed upon it by the Senate after full discussion. The objection made to that is that the friends of the bill in the other branch of Congress inform us, and I believe truly, that if it goes back to the other branch with an amendment it will never pass, neither with this amendment nor with any other. And why will it not pass?

It will not pass because members of the other branch are fatigued with the discussion which the bill has excited. It will not pass because already a very large portion of the session, which ought to have been devoted to other legislative measures, has been consumed with it. It will not pass because fresh discussions will arise, fresh exciting scenes, will be provoked, and in order to avoid them some gentlemen who have voted for the bill will oin with its opponents in laying it on the table. Such, understand from quarters which I believe to be well inormed upon the subject, and to whose representations I attach implicit belief, is the state of feeling in the other

I state these facts because the Senator from North Carolina yesterday, and the Senator from Mississippi a moment ago, declared that there is no evidence before the Senate to show that the bill cannot be passed in the other House with the amendment attached to it. I never felt any inclination to enter into a statement or

discussion of the reasons on which my vote was based until yesterday morning. I listened to the honorable Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Bell) with deep grief and pain. You have heard the discussion which has taken place to day, and which cannot have failed to excite the most unpleasant sensations in your mind, sir, as well as in that of every Senator on this floor. The Senator from Tennessee told us, according to his own statement of the fact, that almost up to the moment at which he delivered his speech against the bill his mind was in doubt; that he had not determined whether he would support or oppose it; that it was with the greatest possible reluctance he withdrew himself from that band of Southern brethren with whom he had fought so long and so nobly. Now, Mr. President, after the utterance of sentiments like those, and after having accomplished a duty which, according to his representation, was so painful to him, I thought, for one, that that Senator would have been satisfied with the opposition he had already made to the bill; but when yesterday morning he arose in his place and taunted the advocates of the bill, and with an air of sneering and triumph called upon us to declare upon what ground we were supporting the bill, and what great principle we saw in it upon which we could base our votes in opposition to an amendment which we had before sustained, I must confess I listened to him with deep pain. The Senator seemed to subject every advocate of the bill to a separate special interrogatory. He called first upon one Senator, then upon another, and then upon a third, to disclose to the Senate the grounds upon which he was going to vote against this amendment, and the great connot to be chased about from one side of the bill to the going to vote against this amendance, the thing other just as they think proper to shape their course. If stitutional principle which he found in the bill, which was of every other principle. It is not at all to be wondered is no consistency in that. While I arraign the motives at, sir, that in the burry of the moment, and the exciteof no man, call no man's motives in question, I think ment caused by interrogatories of that kind, the response

and it is because the response was not quite so full as to satisfy my mind that I desire to say what are the prin-ciples which I, with my feeble intellect, and as a junior member of this Senate, have been able to eviscerate from

that if the amendment fails I shall vote against the avoid perceiving them. I find, first, the obliteration of a geographical line by which the two sections of the Confederacy have for upwards of thirty years been separated from each other. That line was one purely arbitrary. No deserts intervene, no mountains rear their rocky crests, are repulsed. When they endeavor to unite with their Northern brethren in those bonds of fraternal affection and cordial sentiment which ought to actuate every member of the Confederacy, it is as though a wall of ice was intervened between them to chill their warmest and most brotherly emotions. Sir, this geographical line is one of the very points against which we are warned by the fa thing like geographical divisions of the sections of the Confederacy. Divide upon any thing else; take any prin-ciple you please; take a lax or strict construction of the

Again, sir: When we look back to the compromises upon which the Constitution of this country was formed, what do we find there? We find but two points upon There is no press of time. The session is not going to which the domestic institutions of the South were ever close in two or three days, and thus cut us off in the midst confided to the care of the General Government. One of our deliberations on this or other questions. I have was the delegation of authority to interrupt the slave of our deliberations on this or other questions.

heard no reason assigned yet why this bill may not as well pass with this provision stricken out as with it in.

bears witness to the fidelity with which the Congress of the United States took advantage of the first instant the United States took advantage of the purpose of All these things whispered around the chamber, which we hear outside of the debate, will be lost to posterity, and constitutionally to exercise that power for the purpose of nied to our own citizens upon American soil. How will his act operate practically, if you pass it in the words in which it now stands? The officers commanding your in which it now stands? The officers commanding your to be a vote I can stand by to-morrow, next year and the scapes from the owner's custody into a Northyear after, and which my children can stand by when I it when it escapes from the owner's custody into a Northern State. There, again, is a clear, precise, and definite grant of constitutional power over the subject; and a you a warrant for; and accordingly what do we find? najority. We find that, from the very foundation of the Govern.

I shall, for the reasons stated, and without detaining ment, from the period at which the Congress of the United States first began to legislate for the country up to that unfortunate year, 1820, a cardinal principle of our fathers was that the Congress of the United States had no right to legislate upon the subject of slavery at all outside of these two delegated powers. And, sir, the secmoved by the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. Badgen) tional controversy and the heated feeling, the excited was distasteful to me. The amendment proposed by the state of mind existing between the North and the South, never did arise, and never could arise, so long as the

> Constitution intended it to be limited. I find, then, that this bill, retracing the steps of Federal legislation, so far as it interfered with this subject, from the year 1820 to the present hour, proposes to go back to the traditions of the fathers. It proposes to put this Congress in the position occupied by every Congress up to the year 1820. It proposes to announce, as a principle, to the people of the United States, that the General Government is not to legislate at all upon this question of slavery. It is not to legislate to extend it; it is not to legislate to prohibitit; it is a forbidden subject. The flaming sword ought to guard all access to it. No impious foot ought to endeavor to tread within its sacred precincts. That is the principle which I find in this bill, and that is the principle which I wish to see established in the country; and when it shall have been established it will be in vain for fanatics, either North or South, to endeavo to create any permanent excitement in the minds of the American people. The aliment will be gone. You may light the flame, but the fuel will be wanting. It will die rs the dangers of the the advocates of the bill on this floor, were such as would to bear patiently with the taunts thrown out this day by hear with composure his threat that his war-cry is issued against the South from this time forward, and that all h energies will be devoted to repealing this bill and overthrowing the principles upon which it is based.

Congress of the United States, looking to the Constitution

of the United States as its charter, confined its action to the legitimate sphere within which the framers of the

Let the American people understand this subject in its true bearing; let the North once be disabused of the false impression that the South desires any advantage over it or any unequal share of the privileges of the Government; let our friends in the Northern States once be convinced that all we ask and desire is the simple privilege of being let alone; and can we ask less? Blest or cursed, please, with an institution which we find established among us when we were born, and which will probabl exist when we descend to our graves, an institution which is so firmly knit among us that it cannot be torn out without tearing up the very heart strings of society, is it wonderful, is it unreasonable, is it not most reasonable, that we should ask gentlemen from other sections of the Confederacy simply to let us alone? We ask of you the passage of no law, we ask of you the enactment of no passage of no law, we ask of you the enactment of no from Ohio has said that we shall this day be visited by an sition occupied by our fathers when they acted upon the principle which we now invoke, of leaving each section of the Confederacy free to establish and maintain its own internal domestic institutions and promote its own har piness as it sees proper. Here is, then, a second great principle which I see in this bill, and for the establish ment of which I say, as other Senators have said upon this floor, I will sacrifice this amendment, and a thousan others like it. But this is not all. The Senator from Georgia (Mr

Toomss) to-day spoke of a third principle, and he anticipated me in that respect. There is the great fundamen tal principle of American liberty contained in the provi-sions of the bill. It is that principle which laid the foundation of American independence. It is that principle for the establishment of which we owe so many blessings to the memory of our revolutionary sires; ay, sir, to our ante-revolutionary sires. They first planted on this continent the germ which has grown up into a lofty tree that with its spreading branches overshadows and protects this nation. They first enunciated, in the face of the me. My hesitation as to the course which I should take civilized world, in the face of the then almost omninotent English Parliament, the principle that man had a right to self-government. They first declared that it was against the inherent rights of mankind for a Government to legislate for the local interests of a distant dependency. They declared-and it is upon that that your Revolution is founded—that the people of the United States, although colonial dependencies of Great Britain, were entitled to representation in the British Parliament or to be exonerated from the duties of British subjects. All that is ask ed now is the extension of this same principle to the Territories of the United States. Here, then, is another third great principle; and, sir, it is not alone a great principle, it is a great measure of conciliation between conflicting opinions in different parts of the Confederacy, conflicting opinions which have found their enunciation apon this floor. The honorable Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass,) in a speech replete with sound argument and true republican principles, the force of which it would be difficult to answer, has advocated in this Senate the doctrine that there is an inherent right, under the Constitu tion of the United States, in the people of the Territories to govern themselves. He denies the constitutional power of Congress to legislate for those Territories. The Senator from Indiana (Mr. Petrir) and the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. Bangen) differ in opinion from him; but, as the Senator from Georgia said this morning, both agree that it is unwise to exercise the power in contra-diction to the will of the people, even if we admit its existence. We find, then, that this principle of the inde pendence and self-government of the people in the dis tant Territories of the Confederacy harmonizes all these ouflicting opinions, and enables us to banish from th halls of Congress another fertile source of discontent and excitement.

When I find all these principles embraced in this bill shall I jeopard them, shall I suffer them to remain a one moment's risk or hazard, for the single purpose of voting for this amendment, even though it recommends itself to my judgment? I can see neither wisdom nor po-

licy in such a course.

What is the amendment? What is its extent or scope I am astonished to hear gentlemen say that it is of such overriding importance. I have been perfectly astonished in listening to the arguments addressed to the Senate by the Senator from Mississippi. He appealed to us to know whether any member upon this floor will agree to vote for a provision by which the outcast from Berope is to be althere is precious little judgment in acting on a policy of to the Senator from Tennessee may not have been as full lowed the sacred right of suffrage upon the soil of these

that kind. Let us all act upon our honest, conscientious or as satisfactory as the friends of the bill would desire; | Territories, at the same time that Gen. Winfield Scott, if he were there at the head of the armies of the United States, would be excluded from the same right? He puts himself before the American people upon a ground like that. Sir, the Senator did not read the whole of the clause to which he referred. Where does he find in this bill any exclusion of the right of Gen. Winfield Scott, or any other American citizen, whether he belongs to the army or not, to vote in the Territories? Is it in the concluding of the proviso? He left out six or seven words at the end of it :

"Provided further, That no officer, soldier, seaman, or marine, or other person in the army or navy of the United States, or attached to troops in the service of the United States, shall be allowed to vote or hold office in said Territory by reason of his control of the contr

ry by reason of being on service therein." What is the meaning of this clause? Simply that the fact of an officer or soldier being stationed there, under the command of the Government, shall not be construed into a legal residence such as will entitle him to exercise the right of suffrage. But, sir, suppose he be a resident, independent of his being upon that service, is there any thing in the bill to exclude him? Not one syllable. The Senator, therefore, has wandered from the amendment which the Senator from Maryland proposed, and has gone into a question entirely distinct. It is to that amendment, and that alone, that I now proceed to address myment, and that alone, that I now proceed to address my-self. What is the section proposed to be amended?

"Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That every free white male inhabitant above the age of twenty one years, who shall be an actual resident of said Territory, and who shall possess be an actual resident of said Territory, and who shall possess the qualifications hereinafter prescribed, shall be entitled to vote at the first election, and shall be eligible to any office within the said Territory; but the qualifications of voters and of holding office at all subsequent elections shall be such as shall be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly: Provided, That the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States, and those who shall have declared on eath their intention to become such, and shall have taken an eath to support the Constitution of and shall have taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act."

There is the whole scope of the provision. We propose to organize these Territories. We propose to organize them upon the principle of self-government; but in order to do this we must allow the people first to meet to define to do his we must allow the people arst to meet together. We must, in the origin, prescribe some form and some mode by which the system of self-government is to be put in operation, leaving to the people afterwards, under the provisions of the bill, to continue the form of government in such manner as to them shall seem best government in such manner as to them shall seem best adapted to their own interest. The whole scope of the provision is, that as soon as the bill passes, upon the first meeting of the people, and before the Legislative Assembly has acted upon the subject, any man may vote for members of that Legislative Assembly provided he is a resident of the Territory, has declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and is sworn to support the Constitution of the United States. support the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act. I am free to confess that even in this shape the principle of the provision does not reconcile itself to my judgment; and, as I before observed, if I could, as the Senator from Virginia (Mr. Hunten) has said, exercise my individual judgment, and draft the provisions of a bill to suit myself alone, and, as an autocrat, impose that bill upon the Senate, I should certainly exclude from the right of suffrage all but citizens of ly exclude from the right of suffrage all but citizens of the United States; but inasmuch as we are bound to consult the opinions of all, 'as something must be given as well as taken; as no one of us can expect the bill to be perfect, according to his own judgment, in all of its parts, I, for one, will cheerfully make a sacrifice of this amendment for the purpose of maintaining the three great principles to which I have alluded.

Mr. President, I have said more than I intended to say upon this subject. I merely desired to explain the apparent inconsistency of my votes. And vet, sir, I hope

upon this subject. I merely desired to explain the apparent inconsistency of my votes. And yet, sir, I hope I shall not be considered as acting improperly if I venture to appeal to my Whig brethren from the North, notwithstanding all that has been said this day, and I would the Santon form Ohio. include in this appeal the Senator from Ohio, (Mr. WADE,) whom I do not now see in his seat, but for whom I feel a sincere regard and respect—a regard and respect which have been elicited by his bearing in this very debate. I admire that bearing. Bold, manly, decided, and fearless of consequences, he has stated his sentiments, and given utterance to them with that vigor of expression which belongs to a man actuated by perfect sinceri-ty. I therefore include him in the appeal. He has spoken of the last bond being broken which united together that Whig party to which I have been attached from my boy-hood. I have stood by it through good and through evil report, as he has done; I have shared with him its hours of danger, of darkness, and distress; and I have no doubt that my voice has gone up with his in the same exultant shout in the moments of victory. Why then, sir, has he given utterance to such feelings upon a sub-ject like this? May I not say that he has looked at the provisions of the bill with a jaundiced eye? Who can find upon its face that an empire is open to the invasion of slavery? Sir, it does not provide expressly for the admission of slavery. He cannot pretend that slaves are to be carried there under the behests of this enactment. . The bill merely declares that that Territory is to be open and free, that every citizen of the country may go there; and, when he goes there, that his voice may be heard in establishing the institutions that are to govern him.

That is the whole scope of the bill. It erases this geo-graphical sectional line, which he says is abhorent to his own feelings; for he declares that he desires no geographical parties. Why, then, upon a bill like this, and unnese, should such fears and excitement be created? Why may we not act as brothers upon this subject? Cannot we still hold together, and cannot we banish this matter forever from the halls of Congress? Cannot we confine ourselves exclusively to those subjects of general interest which regard not alone the North, not alone the South, not alone the East, and not alone the West, but which embrace within their comprehensive scheme every interest of every citizen of this great Republic? If we do this, Mr. President, with what delight may we look upon the happy vists in the future that would be open before us! Then, indeed, will our future be that which the benign and significant finger of Providence seems to have pointed out to us. Then, indeed, shall we be the peaceful but most efficient instru-ments of the political regeneration of mankind. Then may we hope, by our example, to ensure the steady proeclipse of the sun, and has declared that the gloom of such a day is the fit season for such a work of darkness as he deems the passage of this bill to be. It is true, sir, that there is to be an eclipse, but the same science which fore-tells it also tells us that it will pass away. And when it shall have done so, the glorious orb of day will again shed its radiant light upon this earth with the same splendor, will again vivify it with the same warmth, and will again fructify it with the same fertilizing influence as it did before a transient shadow had obscured its beams.

Mr. BELL. I do not wish to tax the patience of the Senate, but I desire to say a word. I have listened with great pleasure to the beautiful, eloquent, and conciliatory remarks of the Senator from Louisiana, and I rise merely to correct what I consider an unintentional misrepresentation of my whole course by the honorable Senator. He represents me as being in a state of doubt to the last moment whether I would not support the great principles which he thinks are involved in the bill. I only want to

in regard to the bill was in deference to the opinions of Southern gentlemen—in deference to what seemed to be the general voice of Southern Senators and Representatives in Congress upon this question. The honorable Senator has witnessed enough to-day to know what I mean. My hesitation arose from my repugnance to a separation from my Southern friends, and not from any consideration of the principles which the honorable Senator seems to think can be established by this bill. Sir, if I could have supposed that one-fourth part of the pleasing visions of peace, harmony, and prosperity which the honorable Senator indulges in as the consequence of the passage of this bill could be realized, I would have been with him at first, instead of hesitating to the last and going against him. The honorable Senator seems to have thought that I wished to provoke a general discussion on the merits of the bill. I might retort that he seems to have opened the whole subject by his speech this evening.

I merely rose, however, to correct what seemed to be the mistaken apprehension of the honorable Senator from Louisiana. I know he did not mean to misrepresent me. My hesitation was on the grounds which I have stated. and not in reference to the principles he supposes can be established by this bill, but in which I think he is wholly

By a new liquor law in Connecticut a man cannot sell less than five gallons of cider or wine made of his own currants or grapes. The ninth section infers that every man who keeps liquor intends to sell it. The county commissioners can authorize the manufacture of intoxicating liquors, but the manufacturer cannot sell it to any but town agents under a penalty of \$1,000 to \$6,000. No person but a town agent can sell any liquor at all for any purpose whatever.

The Descret "News" comes to us clothed in mourning for the death of Elder WILLARD RICHARDS, one of the Mormon saints, who leaves some twenty desolate wives to mourn his loss. At his funeral Elder G. A. SMITE made a prayer, in which occurred the following petition in behalf of the bereaved :

"Bless the widows of thy servant Willard, who are called to part with a dear and beloved companion. Inspire them with the power of the Holy Ghost, and wisdom to bear with patience and resignation the trials they are called to comend for, and to live in such a manner as to prepare them to njoy his society in the possession of thrones, principalities, and powers in the celestial world."